

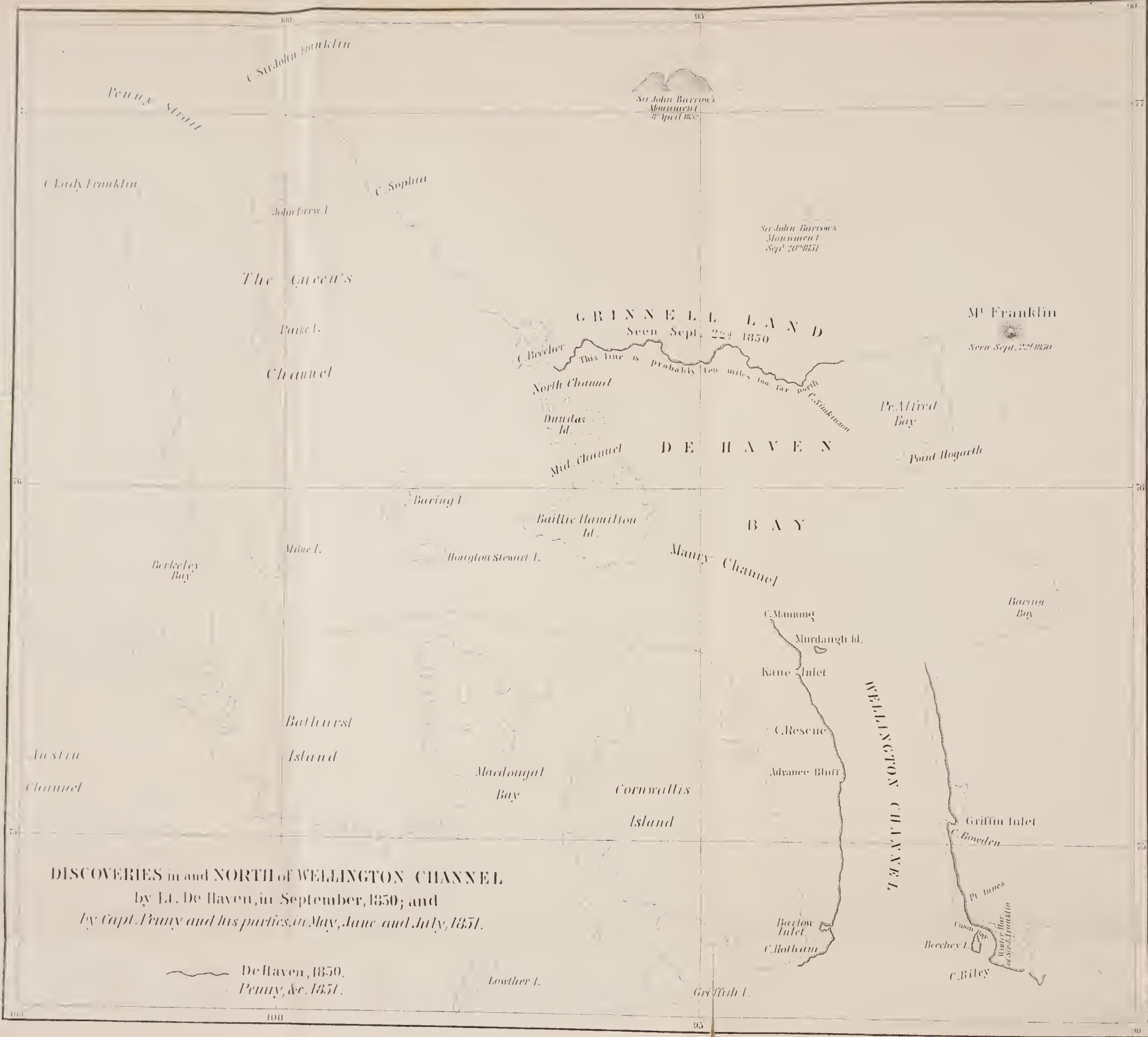
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⁵ GRINNELL LAND.

1852

29
5 721

G 665
1850
J 28



C. Sir John Franklin

Penny Strait

C. Lady Franklin

John Parry I.

C. Sophia

*Sir John Barrow's
Monument
17 April 1852*

*Sir John Barrow's
Monument
Sept. 20th 1851*

The Queen's

Parke I.

Channel

GRINNELL LAND
Seen Sept. 22nd 1850

C. Beecher
This line is probably ten miles too far north
C. Stokerson

North Channel

Dundas Id.

Mid Channel

DE HAVEN

Pratt's Bay

Point Hogarth

M^r Franklin
Seen Sept. 22nd 1850

Baring I.

Baillie Hamilton Id.

Houghton Stewart I.

BAY

Maurice Channel

Berkeley Bay

Milne I.

Bathurst

Island

Austin

Channel

Macdougall Bay

Cornwallis Island

C. Manning

Murdaugh Id.

Kane Inlet

C. Resene

Advance Bluff

Baring Bay

WELLINGTON CHANNEL

Griffin Inlet

C. Bowden

Pt. Jones

C. Bowden

Beechey I.

C. Riley

Barlow Inlet
C. Hotham

Lowther I.

Griffith I.

DISCOVERIES in and NORTH of WELLINGTON CHANNEL
by Lt. De Haven, in September, 1850; and
by Capt. Penny and his parties, in May, June and July, 1851.

De Haven, 1850.
Penny, &c. 1851.

GRINNELL LAND.

Remarks on the English Maps of Arctic Discoveries, in 1850 and 1851, made at the Ordinary Meeting of the National Institute, Washington, in May, 1852, by PETER FORCE.

The reputation of the American Flag is the common property of the nation. Its victory or its defeat is felt by every one of us. In time of peace or war, its glory or shame (should shame ever discolor one of its stripes or diminish the lustre of one of its stars) is the glory or the shame of the American people. In war it can protect and defend itself. In peace it is our duty to watch it with a jealous care, and protect it against any attempt made by a friendly nation to rob it of its honours.

When the American Exploring Expedition, in 1840, discovered the Southern Polar Continent, (a discovery that had baffled the efforts of Europe for a century,) the discovery was repudiated by the commander of an English Expedition, and excluded from English maps. The people and the press of this country submitted to the injury in silence, leaving it to time to do the Discoverer justice. But this forbearance has only invited a repetition of the wrong. England has now repudiated the American discovery in the North in 1850.

How this has been done it is the object of these remarks to show.

The long absence of the Expedition under the command of Captain Franklin, who was sent to discover the Northwest Passage to the Pacific in 1845, and the unsuccessful efforts made from England to ascertain the fate of that Expedition, induced Lady Franklin to appeal to America for aid in seeking for her husband and his companions. Her appeal was responded to by HENRY GRINNELL. He purchased vessels, which, with the countenance and aid of the United States Government were sent to assist in the Search.

This munificent act of Mr. Grinnell is without a precedent. It was an undertaking by a private citizen of one country to seek out and restore to their homes, if possible, the officers and crews of the absent ships of another. None of Sir John Franklin's own countrymen came forward to do as much. Not a man was found in England, from Prince to Peasant, who was able and willing to send at his own expense an expedition to search for the English ships and their crews, such as was projected and carried out by this great-hearted American.

The American Searching Vessels were placed under the command of an officer of the United States Navy who had seen some ice service in the Expedition that discovered Wilkes's Land on the Antarctic Continent.

Without dwelling upon the arctic voyage of

Lieutenant De Haven, or of his and his companions' sufferings and providential preservation from destruction during the most extraordinary ice-drift on record, one fact, highly creditable to the skill and perseverance of the officers, and the determination and indomitable spirit of the seamen of our Navy, may be noticed. It is this : The Rescue, the foremost vessel of the American Expedition entered Wellington channel in company with the Assistance, the foremost vessel of all the English Expeditions, on the 24th of August, 1850 ; and when, at the close of the season, it became apparent that no farther progress could be made, the American vessels, *without the aid of steam*, were at the farthest point that was made by any vessel of the three English Expeditions then engaged in the Search, all of which had been assisted by steam on their outward voyage, when in, and while crossing, Baffin's Bay.

The English Expeditions of Ross, Austin, and Penny, made harbors. The Americans were afloat the whole of a long arctic winter, at the mercy of the winds, the currents, and the ice. On the 18th of September De Haven was North of Cape Bowden, the most northern point seen by Parry, in 1819, and farther North within Lancaster Sound than has been attained to this day by any vessel of all the English Exploring and Searching Expeditions.

His discoveries began at Cape Bowden, on the 17th of September. By the end of the

month he was at $75^{\circ} 25' N.$ Here he saw hitherto unknown land to the East and West, and far off to the North beyond the land on the maps. Of this new discovered land he gave names to Maury Channel, Grinnell Land, Mount Franklin, and other places around De Haven's Bay, which names none that came after him had a right to alter. He says—

“To the Channel which appeared to lead into the open sea, over which the cloud of ‘frost smoke’ hung as a sign, I gave the name of ‘Maury,’ after the distinguished gentleman at the head of our National Observatory, whose theory with regard to an open Sea to the North is likely to be realized through this Channel.

“To the large mass of Land visible between N. W. and N. N. E. I gave the name of ‘Grinnell,’ in honor of the head and heart of the man in whose philanthropic mind originated the idea of this Expedition, and to whose munificence it owes its existence.

“To a remarkable Peak bearing N. N. E. from us, distant about forty miles, was given the name of ‘Mount Franklin.’

“An Inlet or harbour immediately to the North of Cape ‘Bowden’ was discovered by Mr. Griffin, in his Land excursion from Point Innes on the 27th of August, and has received the name of ‘Griffin Inlet.’

“The small Island mentioned before was called ‘Murdaugh's Island’ after the acting Master of the ‘Advance.’

“The eastern shore of Wellington Channel appeared to run parallel with the western, but it became quite low, and, being covered with snow, could not be distinguished with certainty, so that its continuity with the high land to the North was not ascertained.”

The exclusion of the discoveries of Captain Wilkes in the Antarctic Ocean from the charts of

Captain Ross, with all the circumstances relating to this exclusion, were remembered, but it was not supposed that an attempt of a like character could be made to set aside the American discoveries in the Arctic Regions; for, that no vessel of, and no party from, the English Expeditions was, in 1850, at any position from which Grinnell Land could be seen, was a fact unquestionably established by their own Reports of their proceedings.

Yet it has been attempted. In England, on their maps, it has been accomplished. There, on the authority of the Lords of the Admiralty De Haven's discoveries of 1850 have been set aside. The name of "Grinnell" has, there, been erased, to make room for that of Prince "Albert."

In May, 1851, eight months after the discovery by Lieutenant De Haven, the same land was seen by Captain Penny and his parties. As their observations do not agree with De Haven's, it is proper to inquire how far they were qualified to correct him or why theirs should be taken in preference to his.

In answer to questions of the Arctic Committee, Capt. Penny said—"The observations for longitude were rendered useless in consequence of our time pieces not keeping equal rate." "The longitude was by a dead reckoning, and could not have been far out." "Being young travellers, we all over estimated our distances, and had to reduce them, some nearly eighty miles."

Being inquired of about a discrepancy in latitudes, Penny answered. "I can explain that. I was deceived myself at the time. It was a low shingly isthmus covered with snow, which the best surveyor must have taken for ice. Mr. McDougall made his observation when it was covered with snow, and he was deceived, as I was, from a distance."

In his answers to other questions it appeared that he was in the water in the neighborhood of Baillie Hamilton Island from the 17th of June to the 20th of July—thirty-three days. In all that time he got no farther west than Baring Island, about twenty miles. He found a tide of at least four knots, but, though near the land all the time, could not tell whether the flood came from the eastward or westward. He took no soundings; and touched the coast of the mainland at one point only—at Cape Beecher, on the northeast side of the channel.

From this cape, at an elevation of five or six hundred feet, he took the exact bearings of Capes Sir John Franklin and Lady Franklin, each distant from him sixty or seventy miles. He not only saw both Capes very distinctly at that great distance, but he was able to mark, at the same time, the coast line, as it now appears on the maps, with its projections and indentations, its Capes and Bays, on both sides of the channel, which was sixty miles wide to the Southwest from Cape Beecher and twenty-five miles wide in the Northwest at Penny Strait. It must have

been in this view of Captain Penny from Cape Beecher, that “three hundred and ten miles of coast were examined by the boat,” which he says was done ; for it does not appear that at any other time he was where thirty miles of coast could be examined by the boat. We have here exhibited in their performances some of the qualifications of Capt. Penny and his associates for correcting the observations of an American officer, an experienced and accomplished seaman, thoroughly versed in all the branches of nautical science.

Of the five maps consulted in the examination into the curious and progressive discovery of Albert Land, including Sir John Barrow’s Monument, the first is Captain Penny’s “outline chart of coast explored by traveling parties from the Lady Franklin and Sophia, in search of H. B. S. Erebus and Terror.” It was prepared at Captain Penny’s Winter Quarters, Assistance Bay, and delivered to Captain Austin before they left the ice, on the 12th of August, 1851. He then had no knowledge of De Haven’s presence in the North in the fall of 1850, and doubtless believed that all he saw there was an original discovery. In his desire to make this as large as possible, he pressed his coast line as far North as he could, and extended it Westward to the utmost limits of credence ; but, with this exception only, he could have had no motive for not representing every thing precisely as he found it. As to his

longitudes and latitudes, it must not be forgotten that he says his "observations for longitude were rendered useless," and in his latitude he admits he was deceived "from a distance." He gives on this track-chart the routes of the several parties, and the coast lines and islands, seen and supposed to have been seen by him and the officers under his command ; but he gives no names to the land or the water.

"Sir John Barrow's Monument," at that time, had not been discovered.

The next in order is Penny's "Outline of Discoveries," printed in the Illustrated London News of September 20, 1851, within two weeks after his return to England. It is nearly a copy of the preceding, with the addition of names to the Capes, Bays, Islands, &c. Here "Grinnell Land" is first called "Albert Land," and here "Sir John Barrow's Monument" is first named. It is placed near $76^{\circ} 45'$ North, and $93^{\circ} 30'$ West.

A third one is the "Authorized Chart," which, with Penny's track chart, was inserted in the appendix to the Report of the Arctic Committee. This chart bears the stamp of the Hydrographic Office, and the date of September 23, 1851. It has "Albert Land" with the addition "explored by Captain Stewart." The date of his exploration, May 1851, is omitted. It gives Sir John Barrow's Monument in $77^{\circ} 5'$ North, and $95^{\circ} 30'$ West, and puts land between

M'Dougall's Bay and Victoria Channel, which the preceding did not.

Up to this time it may be said that neither Captain Penny nor the Hydrographer of the Admiralty had more precise information of the position and extent of De Haven's discovery, in 1850, than they obtained from the published letters from the American Expedition and the returned whalers, and hence were excusable in claiming all seen North of Cape Bowden as original English discoveries.

When the next (the fourth) map was published there could be no pretence of a want of information; as full accounts of De Haven's discovery in 1850, had then reached England. On this map appeared the first certain public demonstration of a determination in England to rob him of the credit of the discovery. The man who volunteered, or who was selected, to perpetrate this discreditable act is one extensively known as a publisher of maps and charts, and whose reputation for ability and integrity in their construction had not hitherto, as far as is known here, been suspected. This map has the following title :

" Discoveries in the Arctic Sea, between Baffin Bay and Melville Island; showing the coasts explored on the ice, by Captain Ommanney and the officers of the expeditions under the command of Captain H. Austin, R. N. C. B. and Captain W. Penny; also by the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company's Expedition under the command of Rear Admiral Sir John Ross, C. B. in search of Sir John Franklin.

“ Drawn from official documents by John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square.

“ London. Published October 21st, 1851, by John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square.”

This map, “ drawn from official documents, by John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square,” it is seen, bears the date of “ October 21st, 1851,” but there is on it the southern shore of Wollaston Land, which was first explored in May, 1851, by Dr. Rae. The letter of Dr. Rae giving an account of his exploration and enclosing a tracing of the coast, was dated at Kendall River, Northeast of Bear Lake, June 10, 1851, and was communicated by the Secretary of the Hudson Bay Company to the Secretary of the Admiralty on the 10th of November. It was not possible therefore for Mr. Arrowsmith to publish this earlier than November, some time after certain intelligence of De Haven’s discoveries had been received, and it probably was not published when the Arctic Committee adjourned on the 17th of that month, as no allusion to the pretended discovery by Captain Ommanney was made by the Committee or by any of the officers who were examined.

On this map, “ drawn from official documents,” Sir John Barrow’s Monument is placed in precisely 77° N. 96° W.

Over the coast of Grinnell Land Mr. Arrowsmith has placed this inscription :

“ ALBERT LAND. Seen (*on the birth day of H. R. H.*

Prince Albert,) from H. M. S. Assistance, 26th August, 1850.—CAPT. OMMANNEY'S JOURNAL.

“Independently seen and explored by Captain Penny and his officers.”

Thus it appears, that, according to Mr. Arrowsmith's map, Captain Ommanney has asserted in his journal that he discovered “Albert Land” on the 26th of August, 1850. This assertion of Captain Ommanney, if true, would completely cut off De Haven's discovery of the 22d of September. But it is not true. Whether the statement was made on the authority of Captain Ommanney, or was invented by Mr. Arrowsmith, must be settled by the gentlemen themselves. In the inquiry under consideration it is of no importance to know which of the two is responsible for it. It is here of consequence only to ascertain what truth there is in it.

The name of “Albert Land” was given to the land discovered by De Haven in 1850, and “independently seen by Captain Penny and his officers” in 1851. The name had nothing to do with Mr. Arrowsmith's birth-day discovery. “Albert Land” was on the maps published before Ommanney reached England, up to which time neither Austin, nor Penny, nor Stewart—not even Ommanney himself, as far as appears in the official reports and correspondence, had ever heard of a discovery of land in the North on the 26th of August, 1850.

Mr. Arrowsmith's map is dated October 21, 1850, one day earlier than the letter of the

Secretary of the Admiralty to Admiral Bowles, informing him of the appointment of the Arctic Committee. This Committee met on the 24th of October. After a full investigation of the journals, reports, and proceedings of all the Searching Parties of the expeditions, and the examination of the officers of all grades, who gave answers to upwards of fifteen hundred questions, the Committee adjourned on the 17th of November, and made their report on the 20th.

On the day of the final adjournment of the Committee, the last witness examined was Captain Stewart. Some questions were asked him respecting the contents of a letter he received from Captain Austin after his return from his exploring journey, about the end of June, 1851. Captain Stewart said he had received a letter, but did not recollect the purport of it. Question No. 1502 was then put by the Chairman:

“Can you state to the best of your recollection what it was about?”

Captain Stewart's answer is—“I think the purport of it was congratulating me on my return *and on having discovered that new land to the north.*”

This “new land to the North,” for the discovery of which in May, 1851, Captain Stewart was congratulated by Captain Austin in the succeeding month of June, is the “Albert Land” of the English maps. There was no suggestion by the Committee nor by any officer examined by

them, that “Albert Land” had been discovered by any other person than Penny and Stewart, or earlier than May, 1851. Captain Ommanney, in his examination before the Committee set up no pretence to the discovery of the “new land to the North” on the 26th of August, 1850. What he communicated to “John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho square,” was a private affair, of which we know nothing but what Mr. Arrowsmith has been pleased to make public.

Let us now inquire where Captain Ommanney was, on the 26th of August, 1850.

Commander Forsyth and Mr. Snow both say, that on the 25th of August, 1850, the day the Prince Albert entered and left Wellington Channel, the Assistance (Captain Ommanney’s vessel) was working over to Cape Hotham.

Captain Penny, in his letter to the Admiralty, dated 12 April, 1851, says he was off Beechey Island on Sunday, the 25th of August, when he learned from the American schooner, Rescue, that relics of Franklin had been found on Cape Riley—

“The ‘Assistance’ was then running to the westward; and, anxious to be possessed of every particular, I followed her, with the intention of going on board, but I had not that opportunity till two P. M. when both vessels were made fast to the land ice, two thirds of the distance across Wellington Channel, the Assistance being about one mile and a half to the westward of us.”

This shows where he was on the 25th of August. Where he was on the 26th, is seen in the following extract from Lieutenant De Ha-

ven's Report to the Secretary of the Navy, dated New-York, 4 October, 1851.

"On the 26th [of August, 1850] with a light breeze, we passed Beechey Island, and run through a narrow lead to the North. Immediately above Point Innes the ice of Wellington Channel was fixed and unbroken from shore to shore, and had every indication of having so remained for at least three years.

"Further progress to the North was out of the question. To the west, however, along the edge of the fixed ice, a lead presented itself, with a freshening wind from S. E. We ran into it, but at half way across the Channel our head way was arrested by the closing ice. A few miles beyond this two of the English vessels (one a steamer) [Assistance and Interpid] were dangerously beset. I deemed it prudent to return to Point Innes, under the lee of which the vessels might hold on in security until a favorable change should take place."

Here we have the position of Captain Ommanney on the 26th of August, on the authority of Lieutenant De Haven.

The appeal will now be to Captain Ommanney himself. Let him say in his own words what his position was, and whether he saw "Albert Land," on the 26th of August, 1850. In his Report to Captain Austin of 10th September, 1850, he says—

"From the top of Beechey Island [August 23] I had an extensive view of Wellington Channel and Cornwallis Island; nothing but a close body of ice could be seen, an unbroken field of ice covering an extensive sea to the Northward, but *no land visible beyond.*"

"On the 25th a lead opened across the Strait towards Cape Hotham; I therefore considered it my duty to avail myself of this opportunity to carry out your instructions

and examine a spot where I felt confident a record would be left by the Expedition on their progress westward. The *Intrepid* was despatched under steam to execute this service, whilst we followed under canvass.

“ During the day Captain Penny communicated with me, and having informed him of my intention, he returned to search the bay side of Beechey Island. We kept along the solid field of ice extending from Cape Innis to Barlow Inlet, which bounded the horizon to the Northward, and where *no land was visible*.

“ When six miles east of Barlow Inlet, the pack ice closed in on the main floe, and stopped my further progress, where the *Interpid* joined us.

“ In this position we continued beset in Wellington Channel from the 25th ultimo to the 3d inst., strong southeasterly winds and thick weather prevailing.”

These extracts from Ommanney's Report furnish abundant proof that no discovery was made by him on the 26th of August, 1850. They show that on that day he was fast in the ice near Barlow Inlet on the western shore of Wellington Channel, and, that he saw no land to the Northward when crossing the Channel on the 25th, nor even from the top of Beechey Island, where he was on the 23d, at an elevation of seven or eight hundred feet.

Captain Ommanney himself, then, exposes the utter groundlessness of the assertion of Mr. Arrowsmith, made on the authority of his own journal, that he discovered land to the North on Prince Albert's birth day, in 1850. It is possible that an entry, such as Mr. Arrowsmith refers to, may now be found on his journal, but no one who reads his letter of the 10th of September can

believe that such an entry was made there in August, 1850, or before his return to England, 28 September, 1851.

Mr. Arrowsmith's was followed by another map, emanating from the highest authority in England, and is the last in the series, so far, showing the origin and progress of the discovery of Albert Land and Sir John Barrow's Monument. It is entitled—

“Discoveries in the Arctic Seas to 1851.
“London. Published according to act of Par-
“liament at the Hydrographical Office of the
“Admiralty. April 8, 1852.”

This was prepared for publication long after the Admiralty were in possession of De Haven's Report; for his Report was included in the papers entitled “Further Correspondence and
“Proceedings connected with the Arctic Expe-
“dition; presented to both Houses of Parliament
“by command of Her Majesty,” and printed early in February; from which it was copied by Lieutenant Osborn into his “Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal,” published in London, February 15, 1852. Indeed, the map itself shows that the Report was before the Hydrographer when it was constructed.

The Admiralty therefore knew what discoveries De Haven had made in September, 1850. They probably feared the fraudulent pretensions of Mr. Arrowsmith and Captain Ommanney to the discovery of Albert Land, on the 26th of

August, 1850, the Prince's birth-day, would be detected, and that it could only be made an English discovery by relying entirely on "the independent exploration" of it by Penny and his officers, in May, 1851, and by rejecting and discrediting De Haven's discovery made eight months earlier; that is, by doing precisely what had been done before in regard to the discovery of the Antarctic Continent by Captain Wilkes.

The coast line of the Northern Land is placed a few miles farther to the North by Stewart than by De Haven. Stewart makes Cape Simpkinson $76^{\circ} 19'$, while De Haven made Mount Franklin $76^{\circ} 5'$, showing a difference of fourteen miles. As there is but one land there extending from East to West, and that the land first seen by De Haven, he or Stewart must be wrong some fourteen miles; or perhaps neither may have it precisely correct, as it is possible from his distance, and not knowing the height of the land, De Haven might not be exact.

A greater error was committed at another point. M'Dougall carried the water of M'Dougall Bay, in longitude $98^{\circ} 20'$ West, to the northward of Goodsir's southern coast line of the Queen's Channel, making Cornwallis Island an island. This collision of the Explorers was noticed and *corrected* by the Hydrographer, who placed a belt of firm land between the two waters, by which Goodsir's connected shore line for Victoria Channel was secured, and Bathurst Island and

Cornwallis Island were made one land ; though this latter fact does not appear to have been very satisfactorily determined. Goodsir had no instruments. His journal at midnight on the 25th of May, near the place in question, breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence, while he was on the ice in the middle of Manson Bay, which had very much the appearance of a deep inlet ; and in the morning of the same day, from an elevation of two hundred feet, a few miles to the Eastward of his terminus, he found a level country stretching out to the South a considerable distance, and the view in that direction bounded by high hills. M'Dougall was at Neal Island, on very near the same meridian, on the 6th of June, when he observed carefully from a hill in the centre of the Island, and saw no land North of him round the head of the Bay, nor was his view in any direction bounded by high hills. This over-lapping of waters and latitudes, and other discrepancies of observations, presented no difficulty to the Hydrographer. With a bold and a strong hand he separated the waters and put dry land between them ; and, at the same time, made a low isthmus of Dr. Goodsir's high hills.

All these and other corrections and alterations were adopted by the Admiralty. But they do not admit the possibility of an error, by De Haven or by Stewart, in regard to the exact position of the coast line of Grinnell Land. There they do not hesitate a moment, but come at once to

the absurd conclusion that Baillie Hamilton Island, with an Eastern front running North and South, is "The Grinnell Land of the U. S. Squadron," which runs East and West; and that De Haven's assertion that he saw land where he has marked Grinnell Land, is untrue. Indeed there was no middle path to take. They had either to admit De Haven's statement to be true or to reject it as untrue; for, to charge him with committing a blunder of a few miles would be an admission of his Discovery, which, apparently, it was their determination from the first to deny.

Though Grinnell Land has no place on the Admiralty map, to Mount Franklin, which now appeared for the first time on an English map, they have assigned quite a conspicuous position. They found Grinnell Land moved fourteen miles to the North, but instead of placing Mount Franklin on the same parallel with it, they shoved the latter round to the Eastward in Longitude $91^{\circ} 28'$ of their map, and changed its bearing from N. N. E. to N. E.; and then, as if to convict De Haven of misrepresentation or ignorance, they marked on Baillie Hamilton Island, four degrees and a half to the Westward, "The Grinnell Land of the U. S. Squadron."

By this cunning but unfair and unjustifiable device, (for Mount Franklin and Grinnell Land are on one and the same coast, north of De Haven's Bay,) "Mount Franklin of De Haven," is placed on the east side of the Bay, as it is

drawn on their maps, within ten miles of the coast between Baring Bay and Point Hogarth, in a very flat country, where Captain Stewart says when speaking of the place where he buried some provisions—"We buried them and built a
 "large cairn to mark the place, so that we might
 "not pass it in returning, the land being so low
 "and flat that there was nothing whatever to
 "make one know the place again, without some
 "mark, our own sledges being the highest thing
 "in sight for miles and miles, except the hum-
 "mocks in the offing." There could, then, be no Mount Franklin there.

Thus, by cutting De Haven's Discovery into two parts, erasing one entirely and placing the other fourteen miles to the South of their northern coast line, they endeavor to make it quite clear that he did not see Grinnell Land at all, and that there can be no Mount Franklin; and therefore all that he says about discovering land to the North is nothing more nor less than a sheer fabrication.

Mount Franklin has been a great puzzle to the English Hydrographers and map makers. All they knew about it before De Haven's return to the United States, was the reference by Dr. Kane in a letter, to a remarkable Peak, bearing N. N. E. from the ships. They knew from this that there was a distinctly marked high land somewhere in the direction indicated by Dr. Kane. But this was all they knew. Nothing like it had

been seen or mentioned by Penny or by Stewart. No notice of such a Peak is found on any of the Journals of Penny's parties. But when his "Outline of Discoveries," of September 20, was prepared, a "remarkable Peak" was required to make it complete. It would not do to leave undiscovered what it was known De Haven had seen. So "Sir John Barrow's Monument," with two remarkable Peaks, was discovered for the occasion, and very faintly placed in about latitude $76^{\circ} 45'$ N., longitude between 93° and 94° W. On the copy examined it is so faintly marked that only the words can be seen—nothing of the Monument is perceptible.

It is possible Sir Francis Beaufort thought the position first chosen for the Monument was too near De Haven's Mount Franklin, and that farther off it would be much safer from a suspicion of its surreptitious existence. So he altered its location. On the "authorized chart" of September 23, "Sir John Barrow's Monument" is removed to $77^{\circ} 5'$ North, $95^{\circ} 30'$ West. Arrowsmith, October 21, got it a little farther West—he changed it to 77° North, 96° West; but he does not cite Captain Ommanney's Journal as his authority for this change. When the cunning device was conceived of cutting off Mount Franklin from Grinnell Land, and taking it around from the North to the East side of De-Haven Bay, by the Admiralty, April 8, 1852, it appeared to be entirely out of the way, so the

Hydrographer carried the Monument back to $77^{\circ} 5'$ North, $95^{\circ} 30'$ West.

Thus it has been floating about, from September to April, like a log drifted by the tides. Where it may be placed on the next map “drawn from official documents,” no one on this side the Atlantic can imagine. To the question—“Who has seen Sir John Barrow’s Monument, and what is its true position?” there is no answer. Penny did not see it. Stewart did not see it. Sutherland did not see it. None of the explorers saw it. There was no authority for placing it any where. “Sir John Barrow’s Monument” is a mere fiction, thought indispensable, perhaps, in sustaining the attempt to appropriate to the English explorers of 1851, the American discoveries in 1850.

These are some of the fruits of an undertaking prompted by kindness and urged on by humanity. It was carried out with ability, energy, and perseverance. What is given in return for this?

What are England’s thanks to Lieutenant De Haven? His discoveries are taken from him, his fair fame is assailed, and, through him, the honor of the flag he sailed under is contemned. What are England’s thanks to Mr. Grinnell? His name has been rudely and scornfully ejected from a land where, according to the laws and usages of all civilized nations, it had a right to remain forever; they have put in its place the name of another but not a nobler man.

Such are the thanks and the greetings of England to America, for sending solicited aid to assist in ascertaining the fate of her long absent subjects.

Nevertheless, should another call be made for a similar mission, may there then be a Grinnell, and a De Haven, and an administration in these United States, ready to answer it, and prompt to act upon it. But the self-respect of the people and government of America should never again permit their Flag to be associated on such a service, with one that may, from whatever motive, be unwilling to do it justice. No—rather in all future time, when sent forth in the cause of humanity or of science, wherever duty may call it, there let that Flag be seen, floating proudly—but alone.

⁵ SUPPLEMENT

TO

“GRINNELL LAND.”

1853

ROBERT A. WATERS, PRINT., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Force Pub





SUPPLEMENT.

SUPPLEMENT TO GRINNELL LAND. *Read at the Ordinary Meeting of the National Institute, July, 1853.* By PETER FORCE.

In the "Remarks" on certain English Maps heretofore presented, the unfair attempt made in England to impose upon the world by the exclusion of the American Discovery in 1850, from their Maps, and the substitution in place of it of their own explorations in 1851, was met, it was believed, at every point, and fully exposed, by authorities from their own Reports and Official Papers.

Copies of the "Remarks" were sent to persons in England who, it was supposed would expose its errors if any were detected, or, if none were discovered, would admit that it told the plain truth, and acknowledge promptly and with good feeling, the wrong on their side. It appears, however, that though they detected no errors, none had the candor to admit that the truth had been fairly stated. The Admiralty, the Hydrographer, Captain Omanney, Mr. Arrowsmith, Captain Penny, &c., were all silent.

The cause of their silence is well understood. They could produce no evidence of a discovery of "Albert" land in 1850, nor name one who claimed

for himself such a discovery. This, in addition to an overwhelming consciousness of their inability to set aside the Discovery of Grinnell Land, made them silent. But while silent as to the American Discovery in 1850, they have endeavored to build up an English discovery at an earlier date in that year.

When the Remarks were submitted, "John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square," alone had claimed an English discovery on the 26th of August, 1850. This claim appeared exclusively on his map, on the alleged authority of Captain Ommanney's Journal—an authority that was proved to be entirely fabulous by Captain Ommanney's official Report.

The maps were printed and scattered abroad in the hope, there can be no doubt, that the "Albert" land of the Admiralty, and of Arrowsmith and Ommanney, would be adopted without question, and become fixed on the maps in Europe, before the deception could be exposed there.

In the meantime English books began to give an indirect support to the maps. The writers of these did not, in so many words, deny that De Haven discovered GRINNELL LAND; but they did the same thing, indirectly but effectually, wherever English books influence or control public opinion. They did it by a suppression of the truth. They in general make no allusion to De Haven's being in Wellington Channel at all; but they all suppress the fact that on the 22d of September, 1850, he was up the Channel, on its western side, as high as $75^{\circ} 25'$

North. The retention of "Albert" land on the English maps, depends upon the successful suppression of this fact. If they succeed in their efforts to suppress it, "Albert" land will remain an undisturbed English discovery where the Admiralty have placed it, and GRINNELL LAND will be expunged and forgotten.

Instances of the suppression here charged, which is England's forlorn hope on this question, can easily be brought forward.

Dr. Sutherland in his Journal of Captain Penny's Expedition, says—

"It appeared that the American ships got beset in Barrow Strait on the very evening that they passed Assistance Bay, in which state they continued throughout the winter, drifting to the *Eastward* and *Southward*, until they were set at liberty by the swell of the Atlantic, in Latitude 65° or 66°, in the beginning of June."

Kennedy, in his short Narrative of the Second Voyage of the Prince Albert, has a very brief notice of De Haven's drift—

"On the 13th (August, 1851,) as we had expected, we fell in with the American Squadron, at that time all well and in high spirits, after their extraordinary and unparalleled drift of eight months in the heart of the pack, through *Lancaster Sound* and *Baffin's Bay*."

In Seemann's Narrative of the Voyage of the Herald, we find—

"On the 10th of September, (1850,) the American vessels, with the entire Searching Squadron, were concentrated about eight miles South of Griffith's Island, the furthest westing gained by the former. While the English vessels now took up their winter quarters, the American commander, though he was provisioned for three years, decided on proceeding homewards. His vessels, however, became imbedded in the pack ice, *opposite Wellington Channel*, and were help-

lessly drifting during the ensuing winter, *through Lancaster Sound, and along Baffin's Bay*, beyond Cape Walsingham, where, after much exposure, trial and danger, they were at last liberated on the 10th of June, 1851."

Sutherland, and Kennedy, and Seemann all agree. They each make De Haven drift to the *Eastward and Southward*, through Lancaster Sound and Baffin's Bay. They all suppress his drift to the *Northward*. Their exact agreement that the American vessels did not drift to the North, but only to the East and South, cannot be a mere extraordinary coincidence—it is the evidence of a concert of action for the accomplishment of an unworthy purpose; for not one of the persons named can take refuge under a plea of ignorance of De Haven's Northern drift, or of his position on the 22d of September, 1850.

These silently excluded De Haven from Wellington Channel, to cut him off from the Discovery of Grinnell Land. This may be considered their share in the undeclared war on his reputation. It was merely undermining, leaving to others to make the more open assault by charging him with falsehood.

Lt. Markham, in his "Franklin's Footsteps," and the London Quarterly Review for April, 1853, both follow more closely in the wake of the Admiralty, and permit De Haven to make his way up Wellington Channel so far North as to get a sight of Baillie Hamilton Island, but of nothing beyond it. Lieutenant Markham says—

"The American vessels, at the approach of winter, attempted to return home. On the 13th of September they advanced as far as Cape Hotham, but were beset at the en-

trance of Wellington Channel soon afterwards. On the 18th they were drifted up the Channel, north of Cape Bowden. They drifted slowly to the N. N. W. until the 22d, when they observed a small Island separated from Cornwallis by a channel about three miles wide (Murdaugh Island). To a channel leading north-west was given the name of Maury Channel. The Island (called by Penny Baillie Hamilton) to the N. N. W. was named Grinnell Land."

Markham could know nothing of what the Americans saw, but from the Report and Journals of De Haven and his officers; and yet, solely on the authority of the Admiralty Chart, he says their statements are untrue. He says distinctly that Penny's Baillie Hamilton Island is De Haven's Grinnell Land. Of this gentleman, who says he was "one of the youngest" of Austin's Expedition, it may be said, that his modesty is of a piece with his years.

The Reviewer, who can scarcely put in the same plea, of extreme youth, in his justification, takes the same ground—

"The American Expedition made a most singular sweep. Lieut. De Haven parted company with the other searching vessels on the 13th of September, off Griffith's Island. But the frost had already set in, and snow having fallen, the sea was covered with a tenacious coating through which it was impossible for the vessels to force their way. As the Ice about them thickened they became entirely at the mercy of the winds and the currents.

"To the astonishment of all on board, they were carried directly up Wellington Channel. Here drifting about as the wind varied, they came on the 22d of September, in sight of that Island which in our Charts is named Baillie Hamilton."

De Haven said, (and so his officers say,) that when at $75^{\circ} 25'$ North, he saw land from that position, extending from N. W. to N: N. E. This Lieutenant Markham and the Reviewer deny. They say

the farthest North land he saw, was in latitude $75^{\circ} 44'$, that is, Cape Washington, the South Eastern Point of Hamilton Island. Their only authority for this is the false entry on Hamilton Island, in the Admiralty Chart of April 8, 1852. According to that Chart, De Haven came "in sight of that Island," when he reached Cape Bowden; that is to say there was no land marked between that Cape and the Southern shore of Hamilton Island to prevent its being seen, and the distance being less than that from Cape Beecher to Cape Lady Franklin, Penny could have seen it very easily, in a case of emergency; but even he, with the greatest exertions of his far-seeing faculties, could not see the Southern shore of Hamilton Island, from the hill-top at his Point Decision. Nor could De Haven see it from his ship. De Haven never saw Hamilton Island.

Besides these instances of intentional suppression of a well known and well established truth, to shove the American Flag aside, that their own might appear to be in front, there is one of unfairness that is referred to with reluctance, but which cannot be permitted to pass without some notice. From his reputation for straight forward honesty and manliness of character, as understood in America, something better was looked for from the gentleman now alluded to—the President of the Royal Geographical Society of London. It was believed that from a regard for his own fair fame, and for the fair fame of his colleagues as a body, as well as for the trustworthiness of their labors, that if he referred to the

American Expedition at all, he would speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. His position made this his duty. How did he perform this duty?

At a meeting of the London Royal Geographical Society, on the 8th of November last, which "was attended by many Arctic Authorities," allusion was made to the American Arctic Expedition, by the President of the Society, Sir Roderick Murchison. In his Address, he said—

"In alluding to the efforts which have been made by individuals in this humane cause, I need scarcely remind you of the Search after Franklin, which was executed through the munificence of a single citizen of the United States, Mr. Grinnell, who in consequence was elected by your acclamation, an honorary member of this Society—nor to the able manner in which Captain De Haven, of the American Navy, carried out the project, and was among the foremost in discovering new lands."

Without stopping to inquire why, at so late a day, in the Geographical Society, it was considered expedient to class De Haven "*among* the foremost in discovering new lands," in connection with the election of Mr. Grinnell, "by acclamation," an honorary member of the Society, it may, with safety, be assumed, that it is intended to be understood as the acknowledgment, in full, by England to the United States. That Mr. Grinnell is to receive this vote "by acclamation," as an equivalent for the expulsion of his name from the Land discovered by De Haven, in 1850—that De Haven, as a discoverer, is to be satisfied with being classed "*among*" those who first saw in 1851, what he had discovered in

1850 ; and that by such compliments America will be coaxed, not only into a relinquishment of the Discovery of Grinnell Land, but also into an admission of the prior discovery of "Albert" land.

If these were the expectations of Sir Roderick, he should be undeceived. He should understand that he estimates at much too high a rate the value of compliments, even when voted "by acclamation," by the distinguished Society over which he presided ; and that such a vote, if accompanied by a denial of De Haven's Discovery, or a refusal to admit it, would be worthless to Mr. Grinnell, and insulting to Lieutenant De Haven, and to his country.

Having cleared away some of the rubbish of a year's accumulation, it is proposed to refer again to the Discovery of GRINNELL LAND. De Haven's account of it has been given heretofore. The statements of his officers will be given now, not as evidence to sustain him, for that is altogether unnecessary, but for the purpose of presenting in contrast the averments of the witnesses of an actual Discovery, with the representations of persons who appeared as witnesses to support a discovery which nobody claims to have made, and which they knew was never made.

Dr. Kane, in his Journal, is very full and very clear, and very particular, as to the Discovery—

"*September 21, 1850.* We have drifted still more to the Northward and Eastward. A reliable observation gave us Lat. $75^{\circ} 20' 38''$. Apparently we are not more than seven

miles from the shore, which is still of the characteristic limestone of the lower channel. Terraces of shingle are rising one above another in regular succession. They follow the curve-like sweep of the indentations. Estimated by eye, the height of the uppermost is about forty feet above the water line; but I was of course unable at that distance to compare the levels of the successive ledges with those observed between Capes Spencer and Innes on the opposite side.

“About tea-time, we saw a set of hill-tops to the North by West, apparently of the same configuration with the hills around us. The coast of Cornwallis Island now receded to the Westward, and an intermediate space, either of water or of very low beach, separates it from the new land to the North and East of us. Whether this be a cape from a Northern Terra Incognita, or a new bend of the opposite shores of North Devon, I am not prepared to say.

“We took sextant bearings. From this date we may claim the discovery of that land, which we were able afterwards to define satisfactorily. ‘Grinnell Land’, as it was afterwards named by our Commander, was thus discovered nearly eight months before it was delineated and named by Captain Penny in May, 1851.

“*September 22d.*—This day of rest (Sunday), which opened with clear cold serenity, gave us an opportunity of seeing the unvisited shores of Wellington Channel. Our latitude by artificial horizon was now $75^{\circ} 25'$, or about sixty miles North of Cape Hotham. Cape Bowden on the eastern side had disappeared, and on the West a dark projecting cape from which we took our sextant angles, was seen bearing to the West of South. To the Northward and Westward low land was seen having the appearance of an island, although it may have been connected with the shore by an unseen strip. Its Eastern termination was more elevated.

“The bend of the Western shore, was now clearly to the Westward. It was rolling with the terraced shingle beaches before observed, and ended or apparently ended, abruptly.

“After and beyond these to the North, without visible land intervening, were the mountain tops which terminated our view. These were two in number, one higher than the other and bearing A third summit, more distant than the others, was seen by me from the mast-head, but

the bases of all these as is often the case with distant mountains could not be traced to the horizon.

“Without the aid of a known height, and in an atmosphere so deceptive, I could not venture to give their distance in miles. Lieut. De Haven estimated the middle peak the nearest, and most conspicuous, at about fifty miles. It bore North North East.”

Here Dr. Kane is direct and positive. He is not compelled to resort to “a division of opinions,” nor a “first idea,” nor an “if.” He is plain and outright. He says—

“GRINNELL LAND, as it was afterwards named by our Commander, was thus discovered nearly eight months before it was delineated and named by Captain Penny in May, 1851.”

Lieutenant Griffin, Commander of the Rescue, in his Narrative of De Haven's Voyage, is as clear and positive as De Haven and Kane, as to the Discovery :—

“A succession of southerly gales occurring, we were driven, with all the ice in sight, up Wellington Channel, until we reached the latitude $75^{\circ} 25'$. From that position much new land was seen. A range of high mountains very justly received the name of Grinnell. A channel leading to the N. W. was named after the distinguished gentleman at the head of the National Observatory, Mr. Maury. Capes and Islets never before seen, unless by the missing navigators, were named. By gazing on that which was entirely new to man, the spirit of enterprise became animated—we felt disposed even then to load the sledge, and toil slowly in the direction of the mountain range.

“Captain Penny, the following spring, without knowledge of our having been ahead of him, gave English names to the above Land, calling Grinnell Land, Albert Land; Maury's Channel, Victoria Channel, &c. The mistake, as soon as it is explained, I suppose will be corrected on the English Charts.”

Lieutenant Griffin erred in his supposition. The “mistake” was sufficiently explained before Penny's,

or Arrowsmith's, or any other chart of the Arctic Discoveries in 1850, was published. The Lords of the Admiralty received officially an explanation of the "mistake," more than two months prior to the date of the Admiralty chart, of April 8, 1852. Their "mistake" has not yet been corrected. They still adhere to the name of "Albert" land.

Under what pretence of right do they do this?

The American Discovery is recorded in the Report of De Haven, the Journal of Kane, the Narrative of Griffin, and the logs of the ships. This is the American evidence.

As to the pretended English discovery of the 26th of August, it is not mentioned in any official Report, nor is it alluded to anywhere before the publication of Arrowsmith's Map. No one besides Arrowsmith has claimed a discovery up Wellington Channel, in 1850. This claim was disposed of before it was made; and no one has since presented a single fact, or produced a single voucher, in support of a discovery there, on Prince Albert's birth-day, in that year. Penny and Sutherland, it is true, have each alluded to a discovery as if one had been made on that day; but both take particular care to avoid the responsibility of asserting that one was made, or that they believe one was made, on the 26th of August, 1850. This is the English evidence, and on this evidence "Albert" land is retained on the English maps.

Dr. Sutherland's Journal of Captain Penny's Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, was pub-

lished in August, 1852. There had been full time, from the publication of Arrowsmith's Map, to enlighten Penny and Sutherland on the subject of Arrowsmith and Ommanney's discovery. Much might have been done in nine months—perhaps much was done.

A Travelling Report of Captain Penny's Journey to the North, in 1851, is given in the eighteenth chapter of Sutherland's Journal. From this Report Captain Penny appears to have been the first of the English Explorers who obtained a view of Grinnell Land.

On Monday, May 12, 1851, at half past ten P. M., Penny first saw the north land, from Cape Graham. This cape is the Point Decision of the English Maps. Here, Penny says—

“At this point I ascended a hill about four hundred feet high, from which I could see land stretching from the opposite side of the Channel Northward to a point bearing about N. E., and appeared to be continued North Westward, as if it should join the land on which I stood, which stretched away about N. W.

“There was, however, a space to the Eastward, in which the land was lost sight of. Here, as well as between the point N. E. and N. W. there might be openings out of the newly discovered Sea.

“I came to the resolution of proceeding *Northwards*, leaving instructions for Messrs. Marshall and Goodsir, to continue along the line of coast leading to Northwestward.”

He started on the Ice, to cross this “newly discovered sea,” (De Haven Bay,) at five P. M., of the 14th. His course, he says was N. W. by N. At midnight he encamped, having made from twenty-five to thirty miles. From this encampment he discovered

Hamilton Island, bearing about N. W. and distant from him at least twenty miles. At half past one, P. M., on the 15th, he made for the Island, which he reached at seven P. M., of the same day.

He was at Point Surprise, the Northeastern point of Hamilton Island, on the 16th. "This Point is a very low one, and there was immensely pressed up ice upon it." He says, from this point—

"To the North and North East, the land could be seen very bold, at a distance of about twenty miles, and its deep Bays could be distinguished very clearly.

"As the FIRST IDEA of there being land in this direction, occurred on the 26th of August, 1850, on board H. M. S. Assistance, and also on board the Sophia, *our discovery* is doubly entitled to be named after H. R. H. Prince Albert."

Penny here claims the discovery for himself. By "our discovery" he means—"discovered by me, on the 12th of May, 1851, at half-past ten P. M., and not by Captain Ommanney on the 26th of August, 1850." Why, then, was it doubly entitled to be named after H. R. H. Prince Albert? It was not because Captain Ommanney or any one else saw land in that direction on the 26th of August, 1850, but because the "*first idea*" of there being land in that direction, occurred on that day on board the Assistance and the Sophia.

But Penny does not admit any actual discovery of "Albert" land earlier than the 12th of May, 1851. He concedes to the Assistance and the Sophia no more than the "first idea," (whatever that may be worth,) on the 26th of August, 1850; and this he concedes not to Captain Ommanney, but to the two

ships, which may apply to any or to all on board both, with the exception of Captain Ommanney, to whom, after his disclaimer, it could not be applied.

This is all that Captain Penny has to say on the discovery of "Albert" land. He makes no allusion to De Haven's Discovery the preceding year, nor to the fact that the American ships were up the Channel to $75^{\circ} 25'$ North, or were in the Channel at all, after the 10th of September, in 1850. He wished himself to be named as the discoverer, in 1851. But this was not permitted. It had been determined in a quarter too powerful for him to resist, that "Albert" land should be discovered in August, 1850, so as to anticipate De Haven. He knew this was not true, and saw it threw him in the back ground ; yet he was obliged to submit to it. But he was careful to show there could be no truth in the August discovery, thereby leaving his own pretensions free from embarrassment, if the American Discovery could be set aside, in the accomplishment of which he was very willing to assist.

What did Dr. Sutherland do? He was laboring in the same cause, and like Captain Ommanney, he kept a Journal in which he noted on each day, what he heard, and what he saw, of what occurred on that day ; but, unlike Captain Ommanney, he has published his Journal.

The day selected for making Captain Ommanney's discovery for Mr. Arrowsmith's Map (the Prince's birth day) was a happy thought ; and but for the inter-

vention of a few difficulties, which most men would have found insurmountable, was a very judicious selection. These difficulties were—

1st. On that day Captain Ommanney was distant some ninety geographical miles from the land to be discovered.

2d. At that distance it could not have been seen under the most favorable circumstances with a clear sky.

3d. During the day “the sky was overcast with a dense misty haze.”

4th. Not one on board any of the English vessels in Wellington Channel, on the 26th of August, 1850, has said that he made any discovery there himself, or heard that one had been made on that day, or on any other day in 1850.

Well aware of the existence and the force of these and other difficulties, Dr. Sutherland saw how necessary it was to select, in the first place, another day to make the discovery. Ommanney crossed the Channel on the 25th of August, and after that day Sutherland could set up no pretence of even a possibility of his seeing land in the north. The nearest approach, then, to his making the discovery on the 26th of August, was to make it on the 25th. This was one day too soon, but there was no help for it.

In his Journal, on the 25th of August, 1850, he says—

“At two o’clock in the evening, Mr. Penny went on board H. M. S. ‘Assistance’ which by that time was closely beset; her Tender [the Intrepid] being beset six or eight miles further on towards Barlow Inlet.”

After mentioning the return of Captain Penny to the Lady Franklin, and the arrangements between the officers of the two vessels for continuing the search, he adds—

“The officers of the ‘Assistance’ and of the ‘Intrepid’ were divided in their opinions, with respect to the continuation of Land across the top of the Channel. Some of them said they had seen it, while others maintained with equal positiveness, that what had been seen was not land, but open water. Each had his abettors in our expedition,—Mr. Manson with the former, and Mr. Stewart with the latter.

“However, no one, as far as I knew at the time, could say with any degree of certainty, that there was either the one or the other, and bring forward proofs of the truth of his assertion.”

This, it should be remembered, Dr. Sutherland says is what occurred on the *twenty-fifth* of August, 1850; and out of this has been fabricated his discovery of Captain Ommanney’s discovery of Albert Land, on the Prince’s birth day, the *twenty-sixth* of August, 1850.

So much of it as relates to what the unnamed “*some of them*” said about seeing land in the North, from the Assistance, on the 25th of August, is answered by Captain Ommanney, in his letter of September 10, 1850. Speaking of the same 25th of August, he says—

“During the day Captain Penny communicated with me, and having informed him of my intention, he returned to search the Bay side of Beechey Island. We kept along the solid field of Ice extending from Cape Innes to Barlow Inlet, which bounded the horizon to the Northward, and where no land was visible.”

There was neither land nor water seen to the Northward. It was all Ice. In addition to this un-

qualified and uncontradicted assertion of Captain Ommanney, and the emphatic silence of Lieut. Markham, there is the evidence of Sutherland's Meteorological Register, that no land twenty miles distant could be seen. In his Register for that day, (August 25, 1850,) the remark is, "A. M. cloudy, squally, overcast; P. M. misty, overcast, snow." With such an atmosphere, to see land or water at any considerable distance, was impossible.

It is very probable "the officers of the Assistance and of the Intrepid were divided in their opinions respecting the continuation of land across the top of the Channel," as different opinions on that very point had, like Penny's "first idea," been entertained for more than thirty years—that is, ever since the discovery of the channel by Parry in 1819. But, as no land "across the top of the Channel," could have been seen by any of them, on the 25th of August, 1850, it is not probable that "some of them said they had seen it."

Besides these "divided opinions" and what "some of them said" on the 25th of August, Sutherland appears to know nothing. He actually knew nothing of any discovery of land at the top of the Channel on the next day, the 26th of August, 1850. In his printed Journal, the 26th of August occupies nearly seven pages, but not one word is found there about any other discovery than Franklin's winter quarters; the seeing of land to the North is not even mentioned, nor is it again alluded to until the 26th of May in the following year, after an interval of nine months.

Dr. Sutherland was attached to a party sent by Captain Penny, under the command of Captain Stewart, to explore the eastern shore of Wellington Channel. The party started to cross the Ice of the Channel on the 9th of May, 1851; they encamped about four miles south of Point Hogarth, at noon, on the 24th of May.

Sutherland then says—

“On the two following days we were crossing Prince Alfred Bay, and after a few hours’ march on the 26th, we encamped within five miles of land, stretching to the westward in latitude $76^{\circ} 25'$. The coast does not present a straight line, the deflections occasionally vary in latitude from $5'$ to $7'$.

“The newly discovered Land was visited and taken possession of, but it is doubtful to whom the honor of naming it belongs, *if it be the same Land seen by Captain Ommanney* of H. M. S. Assistance, and Mr. Manson, mate of the Sophia, on the 26th of August, 1850.

“This matters little, so long as it bears the illustrious name of His Royal Highness Prince Albert, with which *Captain Ommanney honored his discovery*.

“If the expedition under the command of Mr. Penny cannot *claim the privilege of naming it*, it can that of exploring it, and, so far as we know, of first landing upon it.”

Dr. Sutherland, who might consider it great injustice to charge him with intentional deception, cannot object to the somewhat milder charge that he intended to mislead. He was in Wellington Channel on the 26th of August, 1850, on the eastern side; Ommanney was there on the same day on its western side. He knew Ommanney made no discovery on that day. There could be no doubt in his mind on the subject. He knew, as far as Ommanney was concerned, there was no discovery on that day, of any land. And while he avoids a direct assertion

that Ommanney made a discovery, he insinuates it. "If it be the same land seen by Captain Ommanney." "This matters little, so long as it bears the name of His Royal Highness, Prince Albert, with which Captain Ommanney honored his discovery."

The "if" will not save Dr. Sutherland. The charge against him of intending to mislead stands good. He knew Ommanney discovered no new land in 1850, and could not honor a discovery made by him, in that year, with the name of Prince Albert.

But after all, Sutherland could not be induced, in the face of his Journal and Meteorological Register, to recognise and endorse the discovery made in Ommanney's name. He would not say "Captain Ommanney discovered Albert Land on the 26th of August, 1850," though he affects to do it, by a very awkward and transparent innuendo. Like Penny he insinuates, but leaves the responsibility of asserting such a discovery with Captain Ommanney and Mr. Arrowsmith. In their hands it was at the beginning a discredited and discreditable affair. And it so remains. All that Sutherland would venture to say, amounts to no more than this. On the 25th of August, 1850, the discovery was merely a division of opinion between the officers of the Assistance and the Intrepid, on the long controverted question, whether there was open water or a continuation of land in the North up Wellington Channel.

On the 26th of May, 1851, every thing was changed. It was no longer a difference of opinion between the officers of the Assistance and Intrepid. "The offi-

cers" of these vessels now had nothing to do with the matter, nor had their "abettors," Mr. Manson and Mr. Stewart. Captain Ommanney and Mr. Manson, the first not named and the other only an abettor in 1850, were used in their stead, as seers of the "If" land.

This is Dr. Sutherland's history of Captain Ommanney's discovery of "Albert" land.

This completes what Penny and Sutherland have to say on the birthday discovery. Penny's unlocated "Sir John Barrow's Monument," now requires a brief additional notice.

Previous to the appearance of Sutherland's volumes no certain position had been assigned to this Monument; and his book, so far from finding for it a fixed point on the earth's surface, leaves the site for it as much at large and uncertain as before.

The time taken to prepare Penny's Travelling Report for publication, was certainly sufficient for the selection of a suitable and permanent location for the Monument, were such a thing possible. But this was found to be impossible. None of the parties sent out by Penny had noticed the "snow-clad mountains often enveloped in the clouds," or even the rugged hills that were seen from Point Surprise. Simpson did not see them from Cape Simpkinson or Cape Beecher; nor Sutherland from Point Hogarth; nor Goodsir or Marshall from Cape Austin. Penny was the sole discoverer; and he, in his anxiety to make sure of one, discovered, according to what

purports to be his own account, two distinct Monuments, each, in form, unlike the floating Monument of the Maps, with two remarkable peaks; but, like that one, both are without a known and fixed abiding place.

But let Penny tell his own story, or rather, his two stories. On the 16th of May, 1851, when standing on Point Surprise, "a very low point," he says—

"To the North and North East, the land could be seen very bold at a distance of about twenty miles, and its deep bays could be distinguished very clearly.

"At a considerable distance from the Coast line, in Prince Albert Land, there is a range of rugged hills, which in one part rises high above the ordinary level of the land, and appears to be the most Northern point that could be discovered from the position which I occupied. This I named Sir John Barrow's Monument."

On reading this, the first question suggested by it, is, what is the bearing and the distance from Point Surprise, of Sir John Barrow's Monument; but neither bearing nor distance is given. The "range of rugged hills," "the most northern point that could be discovered" from Point Surprise, may have been any where between N. W. and N. E., and at an indefinite distance inland or coastwise, according to its elevation.

But this rugged-hill Monument, wherever it may be, was not satisfactory. It was too much like De Haven's Mount Franklin. Something more imposing was wanted. Penny, accordingly, discovered one, just such as was required.

On the 16th of July, (precisely two months after

the discovery of his rugged hills,) he was on the east side of Dundas Island, about ten miles N. W. from Cape Surprise—

“At eight A. M. we started; and as the weather was perfectly clear, the Chart was taken to the highest hill-top, and spread out.

“The compass being next thing to useless, the card of it was taken, and by its assistance, *bearings were taken and positions assigned to every point of land and island*, with, I believe, considerable accuracy from the sun. They might be a little out; but as every precaution was observed to secure accuracy, it must have been little.

“From Cape Beecher, on the North shore, the land could be seen trending away to the N. W. to a distance of sixty or seventy miles. It is very bold land.

“The land on the west side of Queen Victoria Channel appeared to extend due north from the north side of Bathurst Island, which by this time had been proved to be continuous with Cornwallis Island to the eastward.

“*At the remotest distance that could be seen in Prince Albert Land, we again observed the snow-clad mountains, often enveloped in clouds, which had been named Sir John Barrow's Monument.*

“It was seen several times since Hamilton Island had been reached with the boat; but at no time had we so clear a view of it as on this day.

“Nothing but water was seen to the N. W. in Queen Victoria Channel, as far as the eye could reach.”

Snow-clad mountains often enveloped in clouds! This was a monument worthy of Sir John Barrow. The wealth of England cannot erect such a monument to the Duke of Wellington. Mount Franklin is a mole hill compared to it.

Yet this snow-clad mountain discovery is not without its embarrassments. Like its rugged hill predecessor, no hint is given of its position. It is left afloat and adrift, and may bring up any where between N. W. and N. E. Besides, in May, when

the snow still maintained its utmost extent of breadth and depth, while the Monument was merely a range of hills, there was no mention of snow on their tops ; but in the middle of July, the Monument consisted of “snow-clad mountains, often enveloped in clouds.”

The retention of both these discoveries in the printed Journal was exceedingly indiscreet. The rugged hills of May did very well, and would have been quite sufficient if the snow-clad mountains of July had been omitted ; or, the latter would have answered admirably if the former had been thrown out. The unfortunate appearance of both may be attributed to the carelessness of the getters-up of the narrative. But Penny cannot complain, for he, too, was careless ; he not only omitted all mention of either in his Report, but he also neglected to mark either of them on his Chart.

Yet his chart appears to have been in requisition on all occasions when the sun could be seen ; and doubtless, as “bearings were taken and positions assigned to every point of land and island,” every thing he saw, or believed or imagined he saw—every thing to which a name has been given, was carefully noted, and had a place assigned to it, and yet not a trace of either of his or Sir John Barrow’s Monuments is found there.

This omission, however, was caused by his carelessly omitting to discover a Monument before a copy of his chart passed out of his hands into Captain Austin’s. This was on the 11th of August, 1851, the day before he commenced his return voyage to

England, and before the Monument was thought of, or De Haven's Mount Franklin had been heard of. The non-discovery by Penny was first discovered when De Haven's discovery was announced. Then an English discovery became indispensable; and Sir John Barrow's Monuments were, all of them, discovered—that with the two remarkable peaks; the next, the rugged hills; and third, the snow-clad mountains. The first occupied several different positions on the maps, while the others are to be found no where. And these things—these Monuments—are sent forth with apparent seriousness as English geographical discoveries, when they are nothing but monuments of English skill in the art of discovery.

There is, however, one chance yet for the release of the Admiralty from the perplexities caused by the erratic transitions of their ambulatory Monument. Captain Belcher went up Wellington Channel with his ship and a steamer, in August, 1852, through, as Inglefield reports, a very open sea. Belcher, if he crossed De Haven's Bay, will bring back with him an accurate delineation of the southern coast of Grinnell Land, with its capes, and its hills, and its mountains. From these the Board can easily select one, (it may be Cape Simpkinson,) and point to it in triumph, as Sir John Barrow's Monument, found at last, in place, fixed, and immovable.

De Haven's Mount Franklin had been pressed into their service by the Admiralty, to build up Sir

John Barrow's Monument, just as Grinnell Land was removed to make room for "Albert" land; in return they made De Haven the discoverer of Hamilton Island. In other words, they deny that he saw what he did see, and make him see what he could not see; and this with his Report before them, for a copy of which they were indebted to the courtesy of the American Minister—a courtesy, by the way, that was neither appreciated nor reciprocated. Their Lordships omitted to send a copy of the English Expedition Reports to the Navy Department of the United States.

After they had given De Haven's Report a careful examination and compared it "with that which had been published there," their Lordships, it appears, "directed" the Hydrographer to reject the American Discovery of Grinnell Land, and mark on the Southern part of Hamilton Island—"the Grinnell Land of the U. S. Squadron."

This "direction" of their Lordships to the Hydrographer was an act of deliberate and gratuitous official rudeness towards the United States; while it also imputed to De Haven ignorance or falsehood, though a single fact does not exist to give the slightest color for the gross and groundless imputation. The Admiralty Lords did not appear to know that these United States had some time since ceased to be English Colonies, and no longer formed a part of British America. They could scarcely have treated Jamaica or even Canada more cavalierly. De Haven's Discovery was set aside with as little ceremony

as Godfrey's Quadrant was converted into "Hadley's Quadrant" more than a hundred years ago.

To expose the absurdity and the folly of the Admiralty in this matter, it is only necessary to ascertain when, and how, and by whom, Hamilton Island was discovered.

Penny discovered Hamilton Island on the 15th of May, 1851. In his letter to the Admiralty of September 8th, of that year, he says, he reached Point Decision, (Cape Graham,) at half past ten P. M., on the 12th of May—

"A hill of 400 feet in height was ascended, and in consequence of the land being seen continuous in a Northwesterly direction, instructions were left to Mr. Goodsir to take the coast along to the Westward, while I myself proceeded in a N. W. by N. direction from Point Decision.

"At five P. M. on the 14th we encamped on the Ice, having travelled twenty-five miles from Point Decision.

"The following day, after travelling twenty miles from this encampment, in a N. W. by N. direction, we landed at seven P. M. on an Island named Baillie Hamilton Island."

In his Journal, which was also in the possession of the Admiralty, Penny, on the same 12th of May, says—

"At 7½ P. M. we started, and proceeded around Cape De Haven, and to the Point beyond it, [his Point Decision,] which we reached in about two hours.

"At this Point I ascended a hill, about four hundred feet high, from whence I could see land stretching from the opposite side of the Channel northward to a point bearing about N. E., and appearing to be continued Northwestward, as if it should join the land on which I stood, which stretched away about N. W."

The violence of a storm prevented his travelling on the 13th. On the 14th, at five P. M., he started

again, and, according to his Track Chart, took nearly a due North course towards the land he had seen in the North. But he says—

“Our course was N. W. and by N., and the distance twenty-five to thirty miles. At midnight we encamped and served out two pounds of meat to each of the dogs.

“From our encampment a large Island was seen bearing about N. W., which was named after Captain W. A. B. Hamilton, Secretary of the Admiralty.”

He left this encampment on the Ice at half past one P. M., May 15, 1851, and reached Hamilton Island at half past seven P. M. the same day. The distance he gives is at least twenty miles. He adds—

“The moment we landed I set out to a bold head land, or I should say rather, the S. E. point of the Island, ($75^{\circ} 44'$ N.,) but I found no traces of the missing ships; and from this my inference was that Sir John Franklin had kept along the North Land, which I had seen from Point Decision.”

This is Penny's account of his discovery of Hamilton Island. He did not see it from the hill-top four hundred feet above his “newly discovered sea,” at Point Decision. There the land in the North appeared to continue Northwestward, as if it should join the land on which he stood. He saw neither Island nor Channel between his point of observation and the land to the North. It appeared to him as one continuous land.

There was something then that hid Maury Channel from him. On referring to the Admiralty Chart no obstruction can be discovered. Point Philips is entirely out of the way, and the southern shore of Hamilton Island is fully open to view in its whole extent westward.

Penny is the only authority the Admiralty had on

the discovery of Hamilton Island ; and they appear to have placed full confidence in *all* he said, notwithstanding his line of travel on his Track Chart differs materially from that on his Map, and neither agrees with his Report or his Journal. In such a case it is fair to compare Penny with Penny—his Charts with each other and with his Report and his Journal, to see how far he may be relied on as a faithful and accurate historiographer. On such a comparison it may appear that the actual position of Hamilton Island is very uncertain, and that though the Admiralty have made its southern shore “the Grinnell Land of the U. S. Squadron,” it may be their Lordships do not know precisely where the land is which they have taken the liberty so to designate.

According to Penny’s Track Chart, of August 11, 1851, his courses from Point Decision to Cape Scoresby on Hamilton Island, were—North 2° West, 16 miles ; North 34° West, 12 miles ; and North 89° West, 11 miles ; making the whole distance travelled *thirty-nine* miles.

In his Map of September 20, 1851, he changes his place of landing on Hamilton Island, from Cape Scoresby to Cape (Captain R. Navy) Washington. This Map makes the route from Cape Decision to Hamilton Island, North 22° West, 14 miles, and North 67° West, 13 miles ; *twenty-seven* miles in all.

From his Report and Journal it appears that he first saw Hamilton Island on the 15th of May, from his encampment on the Ice. His encampment was twenty-five or thirty miles N. W. by N. from Point

Decision; and from his encampment to the Island the distance was at least twenty miles, in a N. W. or a N. W by N. direction. This makes the distance *at least forty-five or fifty miles.*

Penny's bearings and distances, as he gives them, would place his encampment at midnight of the 14th of May on Hamilton Island, and not twenty miles to the S. E. of it on the Ice; and by travelling twenty miles farther to the N. W., instead of landing on Hamilton Island, he would have passed entirely over that Island, crossed the Middle Channel with its six knot current, and at half past seven P. M., on the 15th, landed at Cape Crozier on Dundas Island! All this, absurd and preposterous as it is, is given to the world without rebuke or animadversion, but as a grave matter of fact.

It is wonderful that the Admiralty did not see these incongruities when they examined Penny's Report. Misled by their own map, which was merely an *office improvement* of Penny's, they were led into the blunder of making De Haven see, instead of Grinnell Land, the southern shore of Hamilton Island, without any authority and against all authority.

On leaving the Admiralty Chart and turning to the western coast line of Wellington Channel as laid down from the points and angles in De Haven's log, the confusion and difficulty at once disappear. The reason why Penny did not see Hamilton Island from his Point Decison, is made apparent. The Cape to the North of him (Cape Manning) shut out Maury Channel from his sight. He, from his elevated

position, no doubt did see the hills on the Island, but not suspecting a channel was there, he supposed the land he saw to the North and West was all continuous with that on which he stood. When he first saw Hamilton Island, he was according to his Journal, thirty miles north of De Haven's northernmost position.

De Haven was nearly opposite Kane Inlet, a short distance to the Southward and Eastward of Cape Graham, (Penny's Point Decision,) on the 22d of September, 1850. Speaking of Cornwallis Island, he says—"This latter Island, trending by N. W. "from our position, terminated abruptly in an elevated Cape, to which I gave the name of Manning." He could not see to the westward of this Cape. A line from the Advance, passing Cape Manning, would strike the coast of Grinnell Land near Point Majendie, but pass to the Eastward of both Dundas and Hamilton Islands, neither of which could be seen from the ship.

If the Admiralty will abandon the guess-work hydrography of Penny and take the survey of De Haven, they can then understand why it was that Hamilton Island could not be seen by De Haven from any position he was in ; and, if their "direction" to the Hydrographer to mark on that Island—"the Grinnell Land of the U. S. Squadron," was really given in honest ignorance, it will make the absurdity of their "direction" manifest even to themselves.

Another point remains for examination at this time—it is as to the official interference in support of

the English pretensions to the discovery of "Albert" land, and their efforts to set aside the Discovery of Grinnell Land.

On the 22d of October, 1851, a Committee was appointed by the Admiralty to "inquire into and report "on the conduct of the officers [Austin and Penny] "entrusted with the command of the late Expeditions "in search of Sir John Franklin." So much appears in the published instructions of the Admiralty. But the attention of the Committee was also directed to another matter, not found there, namely, whether it was possible for a vessel to be as far North in Wellington Channel in 1850, as De Haven says his were driven by the Ice in the month of September of that year.

From the middle of September, 1850, when the English ships were frozen in, in Barrow Strait, north of Griffith Island, to the 11th of August, 1851, when they were released, nothing could be done, except by the travelling parties. These parties were sent out in April and May, 1851. For seven months, then, from September, 1850, they could know nothing of the Ice in Wellington Channel. It was impossible they should know anything of it. Yet very particular inquiries were made by the Arctic Committee, as to the condition of the Ice in the Channel during the whole winter.

These inquiries could have no reference to any operations of the English Expeditions, which were immoveable for eleven months, nor to "the conduct of the officers entrusted with the command of the

Expeditions," neither of whom, nor any under their command, could answer the questions from facts within own their knowledge. The questions, however, were pressed upon the witnesses ; but the information they elicited was not what was desired.

Although the Ice when last seen in 1850, blocked up Wellington Channel from shore to shore, and when first seen in 1851, it then blocked up the Channel from shore to shore, it had not during the seven intervening months remained in that condition, unbroken and solid from shore to shore, blocking De Haven out of the Channel. All the witnesses, with the exception of Captain Penny, agreed in opinion that there had been a disruption of the Ice in the Channel—a disruption such as De Haven describes. Thus, instead of contradicting, they confirmed De Haven's statement, at least so far as related to the possibility of his vessel's being carried up the Channel to $75^{\circ} 25'$ North.

Their opinions on this subject will be found in the following extracts from the Evidence given before the Arctic Committee.

CAPTAIN PENNY, *October 27, 1851.*

"6. *Chairman, (Rear Admiral Bowles.)*—Do you believe the Channel cleared at all last year?

"*Captain Penny.*—I do not think it did. It was my opinion as well as the officers whom I requested to examine the Ice, that *fifteen miles of old Ice* remained in that Channel.

"7. *Sir E. Parry.*—I think you said in your evidence at Woolwich, that about *fifteen miles* of Ice were left at the last time?

"*Captain Penny.*—Yes; Dr. Sutherland was the officer who was appointed to examine that Ice, and it was his opinion also that *fifteen miles* remained.

"8. *Chairman*.—Do you say that in 1850 the Channel was never opened at all?

"*Captain Penny*.—Such is my opinion.

"9. *Chairman*.—Was there any possibility of a vessel going up the Channel last year?

"*Captain Penny*.—No possibility of any."

This was Penny's unqualified opinion. There was no possibility of a vessel going up the Channel in 1850, as fifteen miles of old Ice remained across it; and he is positive in this, on the authority of the officers who had been requested to examine it. If there was "no possibility of a vessel going up the Channel," then De Haven could not go up, and all he said about being as far North as $75^{\circ} 25'$ was a mere fabrication. This was what Penny intended to say. But what did his officers say?

CAPTAIN A. STEWART, *October 27, 1851.*

"166. *Sir E. Parry*.—How much Ice do you think remained in Wellington Strait? What breadth of Ice remained unbroken there in 1850.

"*Captain Stewart*.—I should say from twenty to thirty miles.

"167. *Sir E. Parry*.—So much as that?

"*Captain Stewart*.—Yes.

"168. *Sir E. Parry*.—From your own observation in 1851, when you were travelling, do you think there were from twenty to thirty miles of old Ice not broken up in the Autumn of 1850?

"*Captain Stewart*.—I think it was *broken up*, but it did not come out."

Here was a question that merely required the brief answer of "yes," to increase the breadth of Penny's *unbroken* barrier of fifteen miles to one of twenty or thirty miles. Twenty to thirty miles of unbroken Ice, in September, October, and November, 1850! the precise time when De Haven was there—it would

have put him to shame and silenced him forever. But Captain Stewart could not give the desired answer, "yes." He thought the Ice *was broken up*—that there was no solid unbroken barrier across the Channel. So far the "no possibility" of Captain Penny was removed. But Dr. Sutherland was more explicit. He thought vessels might have gone up the Channel in the Autumn of 1850.

DR. SUTHERLAND, *October 28, 1851.*

"264. *Sir E. Parry.*—Is it your impression from what you saw in your journey, that Wellington Strait had been clear that year (1850) after you left?

"*Dr. Sutherland.*—I am sure it was not clear of ice altogether, but I feel confident the ice in Wellington Channel had started, and that it was *navigable* at a period subsequent to our crossing it in the ships.

"267. *Captain Beechey.*—What reason have you for believing that the ice was loose?

"*Dr. Sutherland.*—From our observations the following year. In 1851, we found from Cape Separation new Ice extending to President Bay, but old Ice amongst it angled together, as though the Ice had been drifting about.

"268. *Captain Beechey.*—Then to the Northward of President Bay, do you suppose that it was loose also?

"*Dr. Sutherland.*—I am sure it was loose also. There were five miles of Ice extending along the land, of one year's formation. From what I saw of the Ice on our journey, subsequently to the visit of the ships in Autumn, there had been a disruption of the Ice in Wellington Channel."

Now, what has become of Penny's fifteen miles of unbroken Ice across the Channel, which he said remained there, and which of course shut De Haven out? Dr. Sutherland told the Committee it did not exist—that there had been a disruption of the Ice in Wellington Channel. Mr. Marshall, Dr. Goodsir, and Mr. John Stuart, all agree with Dr. Sutherland

that the Ice in the Channel was loose and broken up after the 10th of September, 1850.

MR. MARSHALL, *October 31, 1851.*

“548. *Chairman.*—When was it you saw Wellington Strait last, the north end of it?

“*Mr. Marshall.*—On the first of June.

“549. *Chairman.*—What was your opinion of the state and character of the Ice in the Strait itself? Did you think it fast Ice, likely to remain in the Channel, or that it might come away with a strong breeze from the Northward?

“*Mr. Marshall.*—I believe the whole of it was *one year's Ice.*

“556. *Chairman.*—Do you consider that the Wellington Strait was navigable in 1850?

“*Mr. Marshall.*—Yes, in the latter part I consider it was navigable.

“557. *Chairman.*—You think all the Ice came out of that year?

“*Mr. Marshall.*—Yes, I am quite certain of it.

“558. *Sir E. Parry.*—What! after the navigable season had closed, did the Ice come out?

“*Mr. Marshall.*—Yes.”

DR. GOODSIR, *November 3, 1851.*

“656. *Chairman.*—Did you, either in going or in returning, examine the Ice in Wellington Strait, properly so called—the line of Ice marked above and below in the Chart?

“*Mr. Goodsir.*—Yes, we did.

“657. *Chairman.*—What was your opinion of it?

“*Mr. Goodsir.*—I saw no Ice of the previous season until I came to the Westward of Point Decision, between Point Decision [Cape Graham] and Point Philips [Cape Manning,] where we passed over detached pieces of Ice two years old. All the other was of the formation of 1850—1851, as far as I am able to judge; indeed, I am almost confident of it. I may mention that Petersen, [of Uppernavik,] the Interpreter, had the same opinion, that it was the Ice of one season.”

MR. JOHN STUART, *November 3, 1851.*

“751. *Chairman.*—How far did you go?

“*Mr. Stuart.*—We started from Assistance Harbour, and proceeded up the Wellington Strait as far as point Separation, crossed over a little to the southward of Cape Grinnell,

and then proceeded along the shores of North Devon to Cape Hurd.

“752. *Chairman*.—Describe the appearance of the Ice in Wellington Strait.

“*Mr. Stuart*.—It was perfectly smooth; covered with deep snow. We met at different parts as we crossed over what we thought to be old Ice, but they were detached pieces apparently left there, and the new Ice formed around them.”

Penny was left alone. His positive declaration that there was “no possibility” of a vessel going up the Channel, is not sustained by one of his officers. There was not one that did not say the old Ice was broken up. They removed the impossibility from De Haven’s path. But, as there was no allusion to the presence of the American Expedition up the Channel, it might have been inferred that the questions of the Committee were prompted solely by a desire to obtain information in relation to the possible operations of the immoveable English Expeditions, and were wholly uninfluenced by a wish to impeach De Haven’s veracity, or a disposition to prevent, on the part of the witnesses, any admission of the fact that he was up the Channel to $75^{\circ} 25' N.$ in a position from whence Grinnell Land could be seen.

If any were credulous enough to be deluded into such a belief, the Committee in an unguarded moment dispelled the delusion. On the 4th of November, Lieutenant M’Clintock, of the Assistance, Captain Ommanney’s ship, was examined—

LT. M’CLINTOCK, *November 4, 1851.*

“824. *Chairman*.—Then it was your opinion that Wellington Strait had not been opened for any purpose of Navigation, during the preceding year, 1849?

“*Lt. M’Clintock*—Just so.

“825. *Chairman*.—Have you any reason to believe that it opened in 1850?

“*Lt. M^cClintock*.—I think it did open.

“826. *Chairman*.—You think it opened completely for navigation, in 1850?

“*Lt. M^cClintock*.—I cannot say to what extent, perhaps about thirty or forty miles.

“827. *Chairman*.—What I ask you is, whether the Wellington Strait was navigable during 1850, whether the ships could go in?

“*Lt. M^cClintock*.—Yes, from what I have been told by Captain Penny, and from what I have heard of the *American Expedition's* having drifted up, I think so.

“828. *Chairman*.—What do you know of the *American Expedition's* drifting up?

“*Lt. M^cClintock*.—They drifted up to $75^{\circ} 25'$ from the published account.

“829. *Chairman*.—Do you know from your own knowledge what progress the Americans made to the Northward?

“*Lt. M^cClintock*.—No, I do not.

“830. *Chairman*.—Can you speak of your own knowledge further about the navigation of Wellington Strait at that time?

“*Lt. M^cClintock*.—No.”

Certainly not. The Committee knew he could answer none of their questions about the Ice in Wellington Channel from his own knowledge. They knew he had not seen the Ice in that Channel between September, 1850, and August, 1851. He had been in an opposite direction from Wellington Channel. He had charge of the Western Expedition, and went as far as Liddon's Gulf, on the western coast of Melville Island. He had seen nothing of the Ice in Wellington Channel but what he saw when crossing it in the ship in August, 1850, and August, 1851. Of the other witnesses who were examined, none could know anything about it “from

their own knowledge.” Not one of them had, from September, 1850, to April, 1851, been where, from an examination of the Channel, he could give evidence “from his own knowledge” as to the condition of the Ice in it “at that time.”

Lt. M'Clintock, like the other witnesses, in answer to the questions of the Committee, expressed his opinion; and, like the others, when called upon, submitted his reasons for the opinion he had given. The reasons of none of the others gave offence to the Committee. But M'Clintock unluckily referred to the American vessels in connection with $75^{\circ} 25'$ North Latitude. It was this that caused the very unnecessary question by the Committee—“Do you know of your own knowledge what progress the Americans made to the Northward?” The Committee knew that none but De Haven, and Kane, and Griffin, and the crews of the American Expedition could, from their own knowledge, speak of the progress the Americans made to the Northward.

The rebuff M'Clintock received was such an unequivocal indication of the disposition of the Committee to discountenance any allusion to the Northern position of the American ships, that the fact was not mentioned again; and it was so well understood by Dr. Sutherland, that he suppressed it in his own printed Journal, published more than eight months afterwards.

If it had been the desire of the Arctic Committee to seek information, whatever bearing it might have, there was nothing irregular, or objectionable, or in-

decorous, or offensive, in what M'Clintock had said of the American ships, that "they drifted up to $75^{\circ} 25'$, from the published account." But this was not the kind of information the Committee wanted. What was desired was such as had been given in Penny's evidence, that the Channel was never opened at all in 1850, and that there was no possibility of any vessel going up it that year.

What was offensive was M'Clintock's expressing an opinion admitting the possibility that what De Haven had said, might be true. The Admiralty had not yet determined how far they could venture in discrediting De Haven, and any admission such as M'Clintock made, interfered with their plans. There can be no wonder, then, that the forgetfulness of Lieutenant M'Clintock, as to what was expected of him, excited the astonishment of the Committee and the anger of its Chairman.

But it may be asked, how is it ascertained the British Admiralty interfered at all in the matter, or in any way participated in the denial of De Haven's Discovery, or in the attempt to fasten the name of "Albert" upon Grinnell Land?

Before an answer is given to this question, it may be well to know what the Admiralty Board is, and what are some of the powers and duties of the Lords of which it is composed.

Since 1828, when the duke of Clarence resigned, the office of Lord High Admiral has been in commission, and the powers and duties of the office are with

six commissioners, who are known as the “Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.” These constitute the Board of Admiralty. Of the six, there is a First Lord and five Junior Lords. Of the five Junior Lords, four are Sea Lords, and one a Civil Lord. All the Lords, and their Secretary, are eligible to seats in Parliament, and five of the seven occupied seats there in 1850. In the management of the affairs of the Navy, the five Junior Lords are at the head of the several departments of the service ; the duties of the Sea Lords resemble somewhat those of the Chiefs of our Navy Bureaus ; the duties of the Fifth, or Civil Lord, are like those of the Fourth Auditor of the Treasury here ; and the position of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Admiralty, is similar to that of the Chief Clerk and Corresponding Clerk of the Navy Department in our service.

The great difference is in the head of the Naval Establishments of America and England. Here, the Secretary of the Navy, has, under the President, the general control of all the affairs of the Navy ; but his powers are defined by law. Every officer of the Navy is appointed and promoted by the highest powers in the land—the President and the Senate of the United States, and not by any inferior authority, as in England.

In England the Lords of the Admiralty have the entire and absolute control of all the affairs of the Navy, and of every officer in the service. In their division of their authority the First Lord takes to himself as part of his share, “the political affairs, the

slave trade, the patronage, and the general concerns of the Navy.” He has the appointment of Admirals, Captains, Commanders, and Lieutenants to separate commands. The step from Captain to Admiral is by seniority, but the promotion to Captain, Commander, Lieutenant, and generally all promotions, except Master and Warrant Officers, rest with the First Lord.

When a Committee of Parliament, in search of information which it must be presumed was not to be found on the Statute Book, with evident hesitation and with great deference, inquired of Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, the First Lord—

“With regard to the higher appointments of Surveyor of the Navy and Officers of that rank, are they in the gift of the Prime Minister or in that of the First Lord?”

His haughty answer was—

“They are with ME. With regard to the Navy, the whole of the patronage of the Navy rests with the First Lord, with the exception of the Vice Admiral and the Rear Admiral of England; those are with the Prime Minister.”

With the immense and irresponsible patronage of the First Lord, and the powers exercised by the Board over Fleets, Ships, Docks, Yards, and every thing else in every ramification of the service, what can they not do? Who dare brave their will? Who can resist the influence of their wishes? The patronage and the powers of the Admiralty give to the Board a control over the minds of all within its reach, as absolute,

and as unquestioned, and as irresistible, as the Inquisition ever exerted or claimed in the palmiest days of its existence.

To return to the question stated above, as to the interference of the Admiralty with De Haven's Discovery of Grinnell Land. It may be answered, in the first place, that the absolute control exerted by the Board over every thing having an Admiralty mark or an Admiralty affinity, is of itself, sufficient evidence that, as one of "the political affairs" over which they claimed jurisdiction, "Albert" land was placed on their Chart by their direction ; and, in the second place, that the positive evidence of such an interference is furnished by Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, their Hydrographer. It is but fair to say here, that in his office of Hydrographer, Admiral Beaufort acted under the immediate direction of Captain Milne, the third Sea Lord, and therefore should not be held responsible for the removal of Grinnell Land to Hamilton Island.

As early as the 18th of November, 1851, Messrs. E. and G. W. Blunt, of New York, called the attention of Sir Francis Beaufort to the fact of De Haven's Discovery in 1850. Their letter was replied to by the Hydrographer, on the 5th of December, 1851. On the receipt of this reply it was enclosed to the Secretary of the Navy by the Messrs. Blunt, on the 24th of December, 1851. [A]

Sir Francis Beaufort, in his letter of the 5th of December, [B] acknowledges the receipt from Messrs. Blunt, of "an engraved sketch of the region

round the Wellington Channel, and a tracing of the Grinnell vessels' track up that Channel nearly to $75\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North latitude." He then adds—

"In laying these before the Board, I pointed out how very desirable it is, that the U. States and the English Charts should agree in the nomenclature applied to them. To this principle their Lordships fully agreed, but added, that before they could decide on any specific point, it would be necessary to see Captain De Haven's Report, in order to compare it with that which had been published here.

"If you will therefore be so good as to send me a copy of that paper, their Lordships will at once give me directions how to act on the point in question, and you may rest assured that not an hour shall be lost in transmitting the result to you."

The letters of Messrs. Blunt and Sir Francis Beaufort were referred by the Navy Department to Lieutenant Maury. On the 29th of December, the day Lieutenant Maury made his report, [C] he received in a Letter from Lieutenant De Haven, a copy of one to him, from Mr. J. Parker, dated Admiralty, November 24th, 1851. [D] In this letter Mr. Parker says—

"My Lords further direct me to express their hope, that you will gratify them by transmitting at your earliest convenience a copy of the proceedings of the Advance and Rescue, in order that the same may be placed on record at the Admiralty."

No inquiry has been made as to what reply, if any, was returned to this modest request of Mr. Parker, made by the direction of their Lordships. But this is not the place to discuss the propriety of these unofficial and irregular attempts of their Lordships to obtain indirectly an official paper of the American Government. It may be enough to say here, that

these attempts were gross violations of international courtesy. They knew De Haven had no more right to "gratify them," than Captain Austin would have had to "gratify" the American Government, in the same way, on the request of a Clerk in the Navy Department. There was a respectful and plain way to procure what they were so anxious to obtain. It was only for their Lordships, not one of their clerks, to transmit a copy of the Report of their Expeditions to the Secretary of the Navy, and request a copy of the American Report in return. This would have been sufficient. It would not have been necessary to add "at your earliest convenience," nor hold out the exceedingly flattering inducement for haste, "in order that it may be placed on Record at the Admiralty." The American Government knows how to treat with respect any proper request from the public authorities of another nation.

In Lieutenant Maury's Report to the Secretary of the Navy, he says—

"I beg leave to state that the desire manifested by the English Hydrographer, that 'the United States and English Charts should agree in the nomenclature applied to them,' is fully appreciated and cordially reciprocated."

And he adds—

"The entire Chart will be published in a few days, unless you desire its delay in order that before either it, or the English Chart shall be published, the discrepancies as to the nomenclature may be reconciled."

Lieutenant Maury is no diplomatist. He knows nothing of the wiles of diplomacy. He deals with facts. He took it for granted the desire expressed

by the Admiralty through the Hydrographer, that the American and English Charts "should agree in the nomenclature applied to them," was made in good faith, and would be carried out in good faith; and that as soon as they received a copy of De Haven's report they would adopt the American nomenclature for De Haven's Discoveries, while that of the English, for their discoveries, would be adopted in America. *As the proposition came from the English Admiralty*, through their Hydrographer, Lieutenant Maury supposed the question was, of course, open, to be decided by the evidence of priority of discovery, to be ascertained from the Reports of the Expeditions, prior to the publication of any Chart. In short, he believed that what the Hydrographer said of the wishes and intentions of the Admiralty was true. He could not suspect that, in such a representation from such a source, any thing unfair was intended. He as little suspected that before his letter was sealed, he would have occasion to record the fact mentioned in his postscript, that he had just received an Admiralty Chart, which covered and occupied all De Haven's ground, and appropriated the whole of it, nomenclature and all, to Penny. Yet such was the fact. They had already seized upon every thing.

Notwithstanding this clear and palpable detection and proof of their insincerity, the Secretary of the Navy, who considered the thing unworthy his notice, authorized De Haven, at his discretion, to send them a copy of his report. [E]

When this Report, after their attempts to procure

it privately had failed, was regularly and officially before them, what did their Lordships do? The result of their examination of it, and consultations over it, is seen in their Chart of April 8, 1852.

Did they manifest any disposition to agree with the United States upon the nomenclature to be applied to the American and English Charts? No: though it was their own suggestion to do so, they manifested a determination to treat it with silent contempt—they even presumed to decide for America as well as for England.

Did they treat De Haven with the respect due to an American officer, a volunteer in the Search for their own missing ships, and their officers and crews? No: they endeavored to take from him his discoveries, and they assailed his good name as an officer and a gentleman.

Did they admit he discovered Grinnell Land? No: they deny that he made any such discovery, and retain on their Charts, to the exclusion of Grinnell Land, Ommanney's repudiated birthday discovery of "Albert" land.

Did they admit that De Haven was in Wellington Channel at all on the 22d of September, 1850? Yes: they admitted this, having, failed in their efforts to block him out by a solid, unbroken barrier of ice fifteen miles broad.

Did they admit he was up the Channel as far as $75^{\circ} 25'$ North? No, they do not admit this. They say he was only far enough up the Channel, as it is delineated on their Chart, to see Baillie Hamilton

Island. Besides, Lieutenant M'Clintock was harshly rebuked for saying the American vessels "drifted up to $75^{\circ} 25'$, from the published account."

Did they admit he made any discovery? Yes: they admit he discovered the south side of Maury Channel.

Did they admit he discovered Cape Manning, south of Maury Channel? No: they retain the name of Point Philips, and thus deny his discovery of that Cape, but beyond and to the West of it they make him the discoverer of Penny's Baillie Hamilton Island.

Did they admit, then, that he discovered Hamilton Island? No: they deny that he saw that Island in 1850; for, on their map it bears the name Penny says he gave it, when he discovered it on the 15th of May, 1851.

Do they both deny and admit that De Haven discovered Hamilton Island? Yes: their Lordships both admit and deny his discovery of Hamilton Island. They say he did not see it, by giving it as a discovery by Penny in 1851; and they say he did discover it in 1850, by marking upon it, though in very small letters and in parenthesis,—(*the Grinnell Land of the U. S. Squadron.*)

Then, after all, they admit that De Haven did discover Grinnell Land? No, they do not. They rejected what he said as to his discovery of Grinnell Land, altogether, as wholly untrue; but they discovered another Grinnell Land for him, on Hamilton Island. They charge him with falsehood for

saying he discovered Grinnell Land; and they charge him with ignorance, for giving Grinnell Land as extending from N. W. to N. N. E., when they say Grinnell Land is no more than a small Island, which De Haven did not see, lying to the West of Northwest. What they say of De Haven in regard to the discovery of Grinnell Land, they must say of those who corroborate his statements, Griffin and Kane.

In this inextricable labyrinth of contradictions, and admissions, and denials, by which their Lordships were confounded, they will be left for the present, in the full enjoyment of all the honor and all the glory they have earned in the manufacture of a pure English discovery with the aid of their ingenious assistants, Erasmus Ommanney, Captain R. N., and John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square.

America can boast of no such discoverers or discoveries, in the North nor in the South. America has neither the vanity nor the arrogance to presume to decide upon or to alter the nomenclature on the Charts of the discoveries of other nations. America is too proud to claim a discovery that may not be claimed with honor, and honesty, and truth.

AMERICA NEITHER STRUTS NOR FLAUNTS IN BORROWED OR STOLEN PLUMES.

APPENDIX.

[A]

NEW YORK, *December 24, 1851.*

SIR: We enclose a note from Admiral Sir F. Beaufort, Hydrographer to the British Admiralty, in answer to one we wrote to him, claiming that the land named by the British "Albert Land" should be Grinnell Land, on the ground of priority of discovery, which the journals of the vessels can settle.

Will you please have the extract made that we may send it per steamer, as, unless it is soon determined, the English publishers will claim *their* name, and make what is now clear a matter of discussion.

We are yours, respectfully,

E. & G. W. BLUNT.

Hon. W. A. GRAHAM.

[B]

ADMIRALTY, *December 5, 1851.*

GENTLEMEN: I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 18th ultimo, containing an engraved sketch of the region round the Wellington Channel, and a tracing of the Grinnell vessels' tracks up that Channel nearly to $75\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North Latitude. In laying them before the Board, I pointed out how very desirable it is that the U. States and the English Charts should agree in the nomenclature applied to them. To this principle their Lordships fully agreed; but added, that before they could decide on any specific point, it would be necessary to see Captain De Haven's Report, in order to compare it with that which has been published here.

If you will, therefore, be so good as to send me a copy of that paper, their Lordships will at once give me directions how to act on the point in question, and you may rest as

sured that not an hour shall be lost in transmitting the result to you. You will much oblige me by forwarding the enclosed letter to Captain Ericsson.

I am, gentlemen, your humble servant,

F. BEAUFORT.

Messrs. E. & G. W. BLUNT.

[C]

NATIONAL OBSERVATORY,

WASHINGTON, *December 29, 1851.*

SIR: I have received the letter from the Messrs. Blunt, dated New York, December 24th, to the Secretary of the Navy, enclosing one from Sir Francis Beaufort, R. N., addressed to themselves, requesting in behalf of the Board of Admiralty to be furnished with a copy of the Report of Lt. De Haven, the Commander of the American Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin and his companions, which have been referred to this office.

In reply, I beg leave to state that the desire manifested by the English Hydrographer, that "the United States and the English Charts should agree, in the nomenclature applied to them," is fully appreciated and cordially reciprocated here.

I have also this morning received a letter from Lt. De Haven, covering the copy of one to him from the Admiralty Board, requesting a "copy of the proceedings of the Advance and Rescue, in order that the same may be placed on record at the Admiralty."

Lt. De Haven informs me that he has requested the permission of the Department to send the Report of the proceedings of the Expedition to their Lordships. His report was not made to this office. His log-books and the materials, however, for the construction of a chart, were returned here, and from them a chart, illustrative of his cruise, has been constructed, and is now nearly ready for publication.

I have already directed a proof sheet of that, as soon as it can be drawn, to be sent from New York to the Board of Admiralty, and also one to be sent to Lt. De Haven.

The entire chart will be published in a few days, unless you desire its delay in order that, before either it or the

English Chart be published, the discrepancies, &c., as to the nomenclature may be reconciled.

The letters referred are herewith returned.

Respectfully, &c.,

M. F. MAURY, *Lt. U. S. N.*

Hon. WM. A. GRAHAM,

Secretary of the Navy.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing I have received from Franck Taylor, bookseller, a printed copy of the Admiralty Chart, entitled "Arctic America: Discoveries of the Searching Expeditions under the command of Captain H. T. Austin, R. N. C. B., and Captain Penny. 1851."

[D]

ADMIRALTY, *November 24, 1851.*

SIR: I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 6th of July last dated Proven, (which has just been received by one of the whale ships,) transmitting information of the progress of the Arctic Expedition, under the command of Captain Austin and Mr. Penny; and in conveying to you their Lordships, thanks for your considerate communication, I am at the same time desired to express their congratulations at the safe return of your expedition from its perilous voyage in search of Sir John Franklin, and providential escape from dangers and privations of no ordinary character, borne with praiseworthy fortitude.

My Lords further direct me to express their hope that you will gratify them by transmitting at your earliest convenience, a copy of the proceedings of the Advance and Rescue, in order that the same may be placed on record at the Admiralty.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

J. PARKER.

LIEUT. EDWARD DE HAVEN, *late Com'd. U. S.*

Arctic Expedition, New York.

[E]

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *December 31, 1851.*

GENTLEMEN: Yours of the 24th instant, enclosing a note from Admiral Sir F. Beaufort, Hydrographer to the British Admiralty, has been received.

In reply, you are informed, that Lieutenant De Haven has been authorized to furnish the British Admiralty, at his discretion, with a copy of his report of the proceedings of the "Advance" and "Rescue," late comprising the American Arctic Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin and his companions.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILL. A. GRAHAM.

MESSRS. E. & G. W. BLUNT, *New York.*

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